4:Schmidt--14 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/18 cont./

of the Paranatinga Bakairí was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio by the president of the state was instigated, according to Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the

22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer. "Über seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingú-Expedition) /On his Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/." aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /from a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/. Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899. (Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI. 1899, pp. 261-263). p. 263.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairí of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairí but also of the eastern Bakairí. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldea. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

/18 cont./
195 159 622 648
lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Severiani, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabí in which the two Kayabí women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reducção de Sancto Jo Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenzo /São Lourenço River/, the Sancto Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /Provisoria/ between Sancto and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Sancto reduction /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /13/ Cerunda, achieved a certain fame in the Bakairí community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

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Already in the last decade of the past century, when Hermann Meyer passed the altar of the Paranatinga Bakairí in his two expedition to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1897, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

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23. Dr. Hermann Meyer. "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/." Mitteil. d. Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin. Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 1-2 198.
Siehe auch: "Bericht über seine zweite

4:Schmidt--16 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/19 cont./

Xingú-Expedition /Report on His Second Xingu Expedition/." February 3, 1900. Verh. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXVII 1900, pp. 112-128. Idem., "Uber seine zweite Reise in Central Brasilien," loc. cit.

Antonio with his stepson José Coroado, already an adult, had then visited several times the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, and a big part of these had moved in with their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, what Theodor Koch, a participant in Herrmann Meyer's second exedition to the Xingu River, estimated the population of the aldea of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí, at this date, at more than 60 individuals.(24)

24. Dr. Theodor Koch, "Reise in Mato Grosso (Brasilien). Expedition in das Quellgebiet des Xingú /Journey in Mato Grosso (Brazil). Expedition to the region of the Headwaters of the Xingu/." Communications, d. K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Vienna, p. 335.

At this time, the Rio Batovy Bakairí had canoes and also a port on the Rio Jatobá. Also the Nahuquá /Nahua/ had then visited for the first time the journey to the Rio Paranatinga and had carried away from there sugar cane al pocoton /French system/ for planting. (25)

25. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedion," loc. cit., p. 127.

/21 cont./

622 115 [123] that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by Dona Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kuliseu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 352 353 José Corrado's house, situated in front of his stepfather Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style. Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairi. All of the decorations known to the Bakairi of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called ● 159 191 [87] ukuri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairi with the Portuguese language, which he also used in talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kuliseu

159 619 589 father because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kuliseu Bakairi and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kuliseu aldea caused by José Corrado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kuliseu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 619 /22 cont./

inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 593 114 José was already trying then in every possible way to become independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Conrado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 182 As a result of the active and close contact which had prevailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow country-

[illegible] way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already

353 619 182 756 mentioned that José Conrado's large house showed friezes with paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again participating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

/26 cont./

114 361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 622 [249] 361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pulo, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí, [423] [469] Indrá, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

● 159 622 593 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea, which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which 159 593 had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his 361 nephew, José Corondo, had become intensified, and after a serious quarrel between them, José Corondo had left Antonio's

159 /26 cont./
aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on
the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the
time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes
/Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza we know that Dona Rosa
593 Sororo, José Corosado's mother and for many years Cacique
Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
[194] /27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
one hand, that José Corosado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had
already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other
hand, that Rosa Sororo, in the quarrel between her husband and
her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had
already married in 1913 a young woman who, according to
Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake
with respect to this piece of information, for we know through
Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young
Luiza Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the
aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it
said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in per-
son, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of
Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that
she was the daughter of Luiza Kayabí, who was still living at
the time of my trip in the year 1927, as the Simões Lopes Post
natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kuruñ
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180
Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kuruñ's new aldea
was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's
aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200
meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

4:Schmidt-32 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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[113]

Sept. 1928 bis Aug. 1929
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip in Mato Grosso. Sept. 1928
to Aug. 1929/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.
Annual Set 60. Heft 1/3.

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In Cuiabá I had already encountered some Bakairí who had come from Sumidor Lopes with a herd of oxen to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were making the vicinity of Cuiabá unsecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my projected trip to Sumidor Lopes. They were four men and one boy of ten, and when they visited me one day in my house, it turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Cuminaga, or by his native name, Palinguie, came from the second Bakairí village on the Rio Kuiseliu. At the time of my stay in this village 26 years earlier he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaiere village among the Kuiseliu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Maximo," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this

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[illegible] whose native name was Kairurs, and with the other Bakairí, and since some /29/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at this time exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

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[159]

/29 cont./

died a short time before. Cacique Karib, who as I have previously had received me so hospitably in Muimaum aldea, was still living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Ipanmo was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairi aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairi. Ipanmo always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Rotunal, and the Rio Paranatinga belonged to him and his Bakairi, and he did not want to leave his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairi Posto, was termed cacique of the Kuiguiwa in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of the post at the behest of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Ipanmo, he told me expressly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other new received from the Bakairi in Cuiabá, I heard that José Cavanha and his brother-in-law Chuva, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Culuene, had died since.

In the course of the journey which I finally undertook, leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1937, I was able to make only a passing visit to Cacique Ipanmo in his aldea, but he himself visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Ipanmo had no one by his house, he had after his death three men by his second wife. The photograph shows in Figure 2 these Ipanmo before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression of poverty. In a small house situated a few to Ipanmo's, I also

Fig. cont. 1

dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bore little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den Steinen some 30 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luiza Kayabi, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Cuiuana.

Most of the Bakairi whom I had known 28 years before in Maigue and Mairawatsi *aldeias* had perished in a flu epidemic that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among the Bakairi of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witchcraft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Nahuukuá and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairi from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairi of the Setuny and Culuehe rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairi, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements on the plain where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of the river and consisted of two small houses. (Cf. Figures IV and VI.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairi plantation near which was a roofless structure occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure VI.)

Fig.1 From there a path led to the principal settlement of the Bakairi who had moved from the Rio Culuehe. It consisted of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure VI.) I was told that a little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and among them also that of my old friend from Mairawatsi *aldeia*, Karlo. I had already encountered Karlo when I visited Cacique Ananna, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique, and I was told that at the time of my stay in Mairawatsi he had merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

Fit cont.]

[illegible] people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Sundhe Lopes Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-style necklace made of stone and shell beads.

During my stay at Sundhe Lopes I twice visited the Kinguane settlement situated on the Rio Formentinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Mariamou. There I again met Marcellino Camenga and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Soleuf, Chiua, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Formentinga to Mariamou either and who had since died. The son of the Chiua, called André, had been raised on the couch of Jorge Sousa so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with Jorge's oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabi Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I will remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, Soleuf, always stayed with you on your trip, and so now I stay with you too."

Also on the right side of the Rio Formentinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Sundhe Lopes Post, was the settlement of the Soleuf who had moved from their new village situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Soleuf was at the time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 12.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at the time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Sundhe Lopes Post itself, where he occasionally stayed with his people. On leaving Sundhe Lopes to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Soleuf who had come from the Rio Novo.

/the same./

civilization of the upper Xingu River never had the custom., but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants., who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairi of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth., this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairi unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspetoria do Proteção ao Indio /Indian Protection Service/. (61) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

61. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairi population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairi in Bakairi history: the death of Carlugo Antonio.

2. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairi of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairi, I mention that the missionary Bakairi on the Rio Paranatinga and on the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the reservation of the upper Xingu River, have still retained some of the articles of their /his/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a